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Undercurrents in American Politics. By ARTHUR TWINING HADLEY.

New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915. 8vo, pp. xii+185.

\$1.35.

The contents of this book comprise the Ford and Barbour-Page lectures delivered by Dr. Hadley at Oxford University and the University of Virginia, respectively, in the spring of 1914. The series might, as the author suggests, be entitled "Extra-constitutional Government in the United States." In the Ford lectures on "Property and Democracy" the author succinctly portrays the contemporaneous growth of these institutions and explains why the latter has not materially encroached on the former. Aristocratic Colonial democracy, which was based on property right and privilege, incorporated into the Constitution strong free-contract and property-rights provisions which have not been since amended. In the transition to later Jacksonian democracy, property was saved from the extremity of socialism by the fact that America became a democracy of small landowners possessed of universal suffrage; it was strengthened by the absence of hostile legislation. This condition, in turn, was due to the paucity of capital and the need of industry, and to the fact that in contrast with the European situation the military and the property-owners were the same class. The first great movement in America toward state socialism and inimical to private property occurred in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Actuated partly by humanitarian philosophy and partly by the failure of competition to protect the masses, and assisted by the alignment of the small property-owner with the labor force against predatory wealth, the movement which originated with the Granger agitation and anti-trust legislation in the seventies and eighties reached its climax only recently in the trust-breaking policy of the last administration, and at present is suffering a reaction because of the protracted depression due to over-regulation and the resultant diminished return in industry. The author closes the series with a timely admonition regarding state supervision of industry in which he makes a plea for intelligent control. "America must learn the overwhelming cost to the consumer and the public of inexpert control." The solution will be reached only when "the demand for state control of industry and for trained civil service go hand in hand."

The Virginia lectures on "Political Methods" show how those matters which were left in governmental hands have often been managed by very different agencies from those which the framers of our Constitution intended. Party government and some of its abuses, the electoral college, pledging of public officials, party caucus, civil service, and the spoils system are the main subjects discussed. Speaking of recent changes the author points out that reaction against powerful party control resulted in a decentralization which has transferred political chicane from party organization to individual groups and thrown the real power in the country to the press, a condition on the whole favorable, but pregnant with possibilities for good and evil. Editorial power

has waxed with the decline of the boss, but there has been a tendency to pander to public prejudice and emotion, "one of the gravest dangers to the stability of the American government." With equal candor the author condemns the press for engendering in the public a spirit of omniscience on all matters of governmental import, the masses assuming a better understanding of complex phenomena than specialists themselves. The crowning need is of intelligent voting "on matters which public opinion can decide and leaving to the specialist matters which can only be decided by the specialist; of holding the expert responsible for results and promoting the man who has done business well rather than the one who flatters the people that he is going to do business in a way they will like and understand."

The work is in the large historical yet withal prophetic; the treatment is at once spirited and dispassionate; the style light and pleasing.

The Progressive Movement. By BENJAMIN PARKE DEWITT. New York: Macmillan, 1915. 8vo, pp. xii+376. \$1.50.

While the purpose of this book is to explain current political tendencies, the viewpoint presented is social rather than political. The writer maintains that the progressive movement represents a definite and unmistakable change of attitude on the part of the American people as a whole. Proof of this is found in the fact that in every party platform of the present day the progressive attitude appears. In the prevailing forms of political agitation there are three distinct tendencies. "The first of these tendencies is found in the insistence by the best men in all political parties that special, minority, and corrupt influence in government—national, state, and city—be removed; the second tendency is found in the demand that the structure or machinery of government, which has hitherto been admirably adapted to control by the few, be so changed and modified that it will be more difficult for the few, and easier for the many, to control; and, finally, the third tendency is found in the rapidly growing conviction that the functions of government at present are too restricted and that they must be increased and extended to relieve social and economic distress" (p. 4).

The greater part of the book is devoted to a strictly nonpartisan discussion of reform measures which affect directly the nation, the state, and the city. Among those advocated as representing the progressive movement are greater governmental control of corporations, direct legislation, woman's suffrage, the short ballot, municipal home rule, the city-manager plan of city government, and municipal ownership of public utilities.

The general conclusion drawn is that progressivism may best be described as a growing confidence on the part of the American people in their ability to govern themselves. This confidence takes the form of a revolt against special privilege and a demand for a more responsive and flexible form of government.